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MARATHA-NIZAM RELATIONS: NIZAM-UL-MULK'S LETTERS

By

Setu Madhavarao Pagadi

In the State Archives of Hyderabad there is a manuscript known as the *Gulshane Ajaib* by one Munshi Ram Singh. This manuscript contains nearly 100 letters of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Nizam's State of Hyderabad. These letters appear to have been drafted for his master by his Secretary Munshi Ram Singh. The manuscript copy in the archives is dated 1198 Hijri (1783 A. D.).

There are many references to Munshi Ram Singh in the Persian and Marathi records of the period. From this collection of letters it appears that Munshi Ram Singh belonged to Northern India. At the age of 19, some time in 1719 A. D., he joined the services of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Owing to his command over the Persian language he soon rose to the post of a Munshi and began to draft letters for Nizam-ul-Mulk. Lala Mansa Ram, Secretary to the Religious Department of Nizam-ul-Mulk and the author of the Persian work *Masire Nizami*, refers to Ram Singh a number of times. The agents of the Marathas who were in the Nizam's camp refer to Munshi Ram Singh in their despatches of 1735 A. D. These letters have been published in the Peshwa Daftar Volume. It is not known how long Munshi Ram continued to be in the service of the Nizam.

Of the letters in the manuscript I have selected about 33 for translation. The rest of the letters of Nizam-ul-Mulk are mostly formal. They consist of letters of congratulations, thanks, condolences, and inquiries of health of persons to whom they are addressed.

The 33 letters which I have selected range in dates from the battle of Ratanpur (1720) to the report on the fight betwen the Marathas and the Siddis of Janzira (1733). Ram Singh has not arranged the letters chronologically, nor does he give the dates of the letters. The names of the persons to whom letters are addressed are also not given. I have tried to arrange the letters chronologically from their contents. I have also tried to find out to whom these letters are addressed.

The letters throw great light on the activities of the Nizam, especially in relation to the Nizam Maratha conflict. Having won the battles against the officers of the Sayyed brothers in 1720 A. D. the Nizam was called upon to fill the post of the Prime Minister of the

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Mughal empire in 1722 A. D. Disgusted at the intrigues in the court, Nizam-ul-Mulk left Delhi, determined to seize control of the Deccan. In the battle of Fateh Karda (1st October 1724) Mubariz Khan, the rival of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was defeated and killed. In this conflict the Marathas led by Bajirao sided with Nizam-ul-Mulk. Assured of their co-operation, Nizam-ul-Mulk felt that the demands of the Marathas could be successfully met through diplomacy. It was under his advice that his uncle Hamid Khan, the Governor of Gujarat, called in the help of the Maratha chiefs in Malwa, in fighting against the nominees of Sar-Buland Khan, the newly appointed Governor of Gujarat. This was in the months of November and December 1724. The Mughal Court was hostile to Nizam-ul-Mulk. If it had the power, it would have crushed him. To save himself from the hostile intentions of the Emperor, the Nizam did not interfere with the Maratha activities in Malwa and Gujarat. As revealed in the ancedotes narrated by Lala Mansaram, Nizam-ul-Mulk considered the Maratha army operating in Malwa and Gujarat as his own. The actual words used by him are: "I consider all this army (Marathas) as my own and I will get work done through them. It is necessary to take our hands off Malwa. God willing, I will enter into an understanding with them and entrust the Mulukgiri on that side of the Narmada to them" (*18th Century Deccan*, p. 122, Popular Prakashan, Bombay).

The Nizam was convinced that like other feudatories, Shahu, the King of the Marathas, would serve under him. In 1725 Nizam-ul-Mulk marched to the South, to exercise control over the turbulent Pathan chiefs and exact tributes from the Rajas of the South. He called on Raja Shahu to despatch his Generals to assist in the campaign. Shahu agreed. It was in reply to Nizam's request that Shahu's army led by the Pratinidhi left for the South. Bajirao, the Peshwa, accompanied the Pratinidhi in this campaign.

Nizam-ul-Mulk felt that he alone was entitled to get tributes due from the Rajas of the South. He did not think that the Marathas were entitled to any share in the tribute. It was sufficient, he felt, if the Marathas were paid their expenses. While the Pratinidhi was amenable to the wishes of the Nizam, Bajirao sensed that the Nizam's efforts were directed to keeping the South as his own preserve and to prevent the Marathas from dealing directly with the Rajas of Mysore, Bidnur and other regions. Bajirao decided to oppose the policy of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Nizam in one of his letters refers to the improper behaviour of Bajirao in the Southern campaign of 1725-26. The Nizam saw that Bajirao would be a serious and dangerous rival. He decided to weaken the Marathas. He induced Sambhaji, the Raja of Kolhapur, to come over

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to his side, and contest the claims of Shahu to be recognized as the legal head of the Maratha State. In 1727 Bajirao campaigned in the South, to the extreme annoyance of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Nizam decided to have an open conflict with Shahu. This led to the fight between the Marathas and the Nizam, which culminated at Palkhed (February 1728) and in the discomfiture of the Nizam. He had to recognise Shahu as the sole head of the Marathas and as such entitled to the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Even after this debacle the Nizam continued his machinations against the Marathas.

The Marathas had in the meanwhile carried their arms into Malwa and Gujarat. Giridhar Bahadur, the Governor of Malwa, fought against them. He requested the Delhi court for assistance. Sayyed Najimuddin was ordered by the Mughal emperor, to proceed to the help of Giridhar Bahadur. In the letters in this collection, the Nizam expresses satisfaction at this step of the emperor. He requests the emperor to order the Governors of Gujarat and Malwa to co-operate with him against the Marathas. He assures the emperor that in the South of the Narmada he was valiantly fighting against the Marathas. He makes great play with the heavy burden he was supposed to be bearing in fighting the Marathas.

The efforts of the Mughals to check the Marathas in Malwa were not successful. In November 1728 in a brief but brilliant campaign Chimaji Appa, the brother of Bajirao, defeated and killed Giridhar Bahadur, the Governor of Malwa. The same year, in March 1728 the Nizam himself had been defeated at Palkhed.

In 1730 Muhammad Bangash succeeded to the Governorship of Malwa. Raja Abhai Singh, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, was the Governor of Gujarat. The Nizam had every cause to suspect the hostile designs of the emperor and his Governors of Malwa and Gujarat. Outwardly he maintained a show of great loyalty to the emperor. Giving advice to the emperor on how best to act against the Marathas, he suggests that the action of Sawai Jai Singh, the Governor of Malwa, in promising considera ble sums to the Marathas was ill advised. The Nizam met Muhammad Bangash in March 1731. His aim was to find out the designs of the latter against him (Nizam).

The Nizam seems to have come to the conclusion that if only for a show, he should proceed against the Marathas, so as to mitigate the suspicion of the emperor. He had already taken advantage of the rift between Bajirao and the Maratha General Trimbakrao Dabhade who were operating in Gujarat. He had assured his full support to Dabhade and had even sent a small force to his assistance. Bajirao moved

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swiftly. He marched into Gujarat. He called on Abhai Singh, the Governor of Gujarat. Against this alliance the Nizam protested in his letters to the Mughal emperor and Abhai Singh. This had no effect. Abhai Singh reported to the emperor that the Nizam was planning to occupy Gujarat. Bajirao had in the meanwhile defeated and destroyed Dabhade in the battle of Dabhai (1st April 1731). The Nizam's designs against the Marathas were once again shattered.

The letters that follow throw considerable light on the Nizam's campaign in the Karnatak, the rift between him and Bajirao, the Nizam's efforts to seduce the Maratha Generals and the events leading to the Palkhed campaign. In the last letter dated 1733 the Nizam had submitted a long report on the conflict between the Marathas and the Siddis of Janzira. Although the territory defined as Swarajya had been handed over to Shahu by the Mughals in 1719, certain portions of this territory had been seized by the Siddis of Janzira. Important forts still continued to be held by them or other minor Mughal officials. These, the Marathas now proceeded to liquidate. During the period from 1733 to 1736 the Marathas captured a number of forts in the Konkan area and limited the power of Siddis to the island fortress of Janzira. They captured the forts of Mahuli, Raigad, and Karnala and cleared the Swarjya territory of the Mughal pockets. The Nizam felt that he could successfully interfere on behalf of the Siddis in this conflict. Here too his efforts proved unsuccessful.

Nizam-ul-Mulk had to face two problems simultaneously. He wanted to check the Marathas in the Deccan and reduce their power. He did not want their influence to extend to the South. He wanted to make it impossible for them to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in his territories. This he proceeded to do through seductions among the Marathas. The pro-Nizam lobby in the cabinet of Shahu was of great assistance to him. Sambhaji of Kolhapur who was a rival to Shahu had joined the Nizam. Some Maratha Generals also joined him. All these efforts of the Nizam, however, came to naught because of the masterful personality of Bajirao. The second problem which the Nizam had to face was relations with the Mughal empire. The Mughal court at Delhi was definitely hostile to the Nizam. He was aware of it. Hence the movement of any general from Delhi towards the South would throw him into anxiety. He did nothing to prevent the Marathas from moving into Malwa and Gujarat. From 1724 to 1737 he never crossed the Narmada into the North. With a great show of loyalty he would tell the Mughal emperor how the latter should proceed against the Marathas in Malwa and Gujarat. While Maratha activities made him anxious about the security of his territories he was also aware of the fact that Maratha

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activities in Gujarat and Malwa kept the Mughal court at Delhi constantly distracted, and thus prevented it from carrying out its hostile designs against his Deccan territory.

Modern historians like Yusuf Hussain Khan emphasise the Nizam's loyalty to the Mughal emperor. But a study of the Nizam's career shows that he was loyal only to himself. This attitude proved very disastrous to the Nizams in the end. While the Marathas dominated the whole of India and brought about the disintegration of the Mughal empire, the Nizams too had to suffer the loss of half their territory. They were reduced to a purely local and subordinate role in the political set up of India.

I am obliged to Dr. M. G. Dixit, Director of Archives, Bombay, for making available to me the photostat copy of this valuable collection of Nizam-ul-Mulk's letters.

Page 230 (1)

The battle of Ratanpur, 9th June 1720.

Raja Bhim Singh Hada, Raja Gaja Singh of Narwar, Dilawar Khan, Sayed Sher Khan, Nahar Khan, Dost Muhmmad Khan and others accompanied by a strong army crossed the river Narmada. They aimed at fighting against me. To punish them I left my heavy baggage at Burhanpur, and marching a distance of 40 Kos on this side of the Narmada, I came against the opponents on the 13th of Shaban. The battle began in the afternoon. It was a heavy fight. The brave men of the army leaving the artillery aside, attacked the enemy with swords. Among the enemy, the Rajputs, led by Raja Bhim Hada and Raja Gaja Singh Narwari, got down from their horses and began fighting with swords. Many of the Rajputs were killed. Sayed Dilawar Khan, Sayed Sher Khan, Faruq Khan, Hasham Khan, and other Sayeds along with the Afghans and other retainers of Husain Ali Khan were killed after a heavy battle. This is all due to God's grace. The enemy scattered. It was pursued by the Marathas who are good fighters and destroyed. By God's grace a great victory has been won.

Page 205 (2)

Battle of Balapur, 1720.

On Sunday the 6th of the month of Shawal (31st July 1720), trusting in God, I marched to punish the Marathas and their supporters. I traversed a distance of 4 Kos. The enemy, proud of his numbers, had pitched his tents at that place. He had arranged his army and the

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artillery and was ready for the fight. Owing to the scarcity of bullocks our heavy artillery had remained behind. It was decided to engage the enemy in a hand to hand fight. The following were among the opposing army. Alam Ali Khan, Rustam Khan, Amin Khan Bahadur, Tahawur Khan, Ali Jan, Munhe Khan, Tahawur Dil Khan, Salabat Khan, Shujat Ali Khan, Pur Dil Khan, Latif Khan, Muhammadali Beg Khan, Giyasuddin Khan, Mirza Ali Yusuf Khan, Umar Khan, Wase Ali Khan, Sirajuddin Khan, Nahar Khan Dakhni, Khan Zaman Khan, Matlab Khan, Abu Talib Khan, Mansur Khan, Gulam Rasul Khan, Muhammad Ashraf Khan, Turk Taz Khan, Haris Khan, Behramand Khan, Pimaji Shinde, Sultanji Thorat, Appaji Rustam Khani, and Pimrao were there with all their forces. Shankarji, Baji, the son of Balaji Vishwanath, the Peshwa of Raja Shahu, Khandoji Dabhade Senapati, Kanhoji Bhosle, Tukoji Gurjar, Pilaji Jadhav, Devalji Somavamshi, Chimnaji Damodar, Mankoji and other Maratha chiefs were on the left wing of the army. In the battle the guns were soon given up and both sides took to swords. The enemy tried to attack from the left wing. They attacked our rear guard. But they were repulsed. Alam Ali Khan had decided to sacrifice his life. He stood his ground stoutly. Heavy fighting continued for two Gharis. Our army fought gallantly. The enemy too did not spare any effort. At last the grace of God was on this servant. Alam Ali Khan with some of his chiefs and many of his colleagues was killed. Many were wounded and captured. Shankaraji Malhar was captured alive. On our side, Aiwaz Khan, Mutawassil Khan, Muhammad Giyas Khan, Qadar Khan, and Kamyat Khan exerted themselves well. By God's grace they are safe and sound.

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Probable date 1726

To whom written not known.

"You have written that the fort has been captured. This news has given me great pleasure. What Anwaruddin Khan (later to be the Nawab of Arcot) had written earlier, was actuated by a desire for the strengthening of friendship. During these days our army had turned its attention to set the affairs of Karnatak, in order. In whatever direction we turned, by God's grace, victory greeted us. So great was the impression created by the army of Islam that all pride evaporated from the haughty chiefs. The Zamindars and the other leading chiefs of the region found their safety in submitting to us. In a short time, affairs in that region were settled according to our desire. Since it will be pleasing to you I am giving a few details of the campaign. After I arrived in Karnatak, Saadatullah Khan Bahadur, Tahir Muhammad Khan Bahadur, Abid Khan and others who held positions of authority in

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Karnatak came and joined me with their armies. Similarly Shripatrao, Sambhaji Nimbalkar (Sultanji), Bajirao, and other chiefs of Raja Shahu joined me with 10,000 to 11,000 cavalry. Hindurao, Narsinghrao and Neela Prabhu on behalf of Raja Sambhaji joined me with a considerable army. By God's grace a strong and numerous army was collected. We moved wherever affairs demanded our attention. The Raja of Mysore and the Raja of Bidnur were the two important chiefs in this region. They were proud of their army, and their inaccessible territory. They had not submitted even during the reign of Hazarat Khuld Makan... On the news of the arrival of the army they submitted and vied with each other in paying tributes. Similarly the chiefs of Chitradurg and Ramdurg paid tributes according to their capacity. Praise be to God that the affairs ended successfully and order was established. As the rainy season was approaching I left for Hyderabad to canton for the rainy season. Today is the first of the month of Shawal (22nd May 1726). I am 30 Kos away from Hyderabad. God willing I will reach Hyderabad soon.

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Nizam-ul-Mulk's description of his campaign in the South in 1726.

"Previously I had written in detail about our small income and heavy expenditure. I had to devise ways and means to increase the income so that the income would at least be equal to the expenditure. All troubles are a part of the grace of God but I have been also entrusted with the finding of ways and means. I wrote to Izduddowlah Bahadur as follows: "Let both of us go to the Karnatak. As there were difficulties in the way of his coming I had to go alone to the Karnatak. Izduddowlah wrote to me that I should win over and ally myself with the Afghans. This could be done by showing consideration to them. His advice was reasonable. I did my best to give them proper advice. In spite of my advice the Afghans did not listen to me. I then made a halt of three weeks in Adoni, under the expectation that the Afghans would join me, and we could then march together to Shrirangpattam and other prominent places and collect tribute. The Afghans, under some apprehension began to delay in coming. Saadatullah Khan had marched from Arcot. He had greater regard and loyalty than the Afghans to me. His letters were full of expressions of sincerity. He had expressed a desire to come and see me. But from the letters and his behaviour it appears that he had slackened in his desire to come to me. I noticed that it would not be proper for me to wait for this cunning tribe (Afghans). The Marathas had entered into an unholy alliance with them. It would only be a waste of time to wait for the Afghans, and

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the time for action would disappear. I also thought that this delay would also create confusion among them. I therefore relied on God. I did not have more than 7,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry with me. With these troops I moved towards Sira. I was worried about the crooked aims of the Afghans. Abdul Gaffar Khan had joined Shripatrao, Bajirao, Sultanji and the son of Dabhade. The Marathas were actuated by the prospects of collecting lakhs of rupees. If both could join hands it would lead to an increase in disturbances and killings. The army of the Marathas was 25,000 strong. Sadatullah Khan and Abdul Nabi Khan (the chief of Kadapa) had met each other. Tahir Muhammad Khan (Nizam's Officer in the Karnatak) had lost control over his troops due to the heavy arrears of payment. Many of his soldiers, under the instigation of Abdul Nabi Khan left Tahir Muhammad Khan and joined Abdul Nabi Khan. This and many other rumours began to reach me day and night. I had written to Izduddowalah that, trusting in God, he should join me so that the enemies could receive punishment for their deeds, and, tributes could be collected from the fertile region of Karnatak situated on our frontiers. His failure to join me caused me surprise and sorrow. I wrote to him again. I said to him "If you are not in a position to join me due to some reason or other you should send 4,000 troops along with Turktaz Khan Bahadur, Shaikh Ali Khan, Khane Alam, and Muquarrab Khan. I however relied on God. Previously, whenever I had insufficient resources, God's grace had removed my difficulties. As soon as I reached Sira, Tahir Muhamad Khan who had separated himself from all and was sincerely attached to me reached me with 3,000 troops. His soldiers had been impressed by my speedy arrival. They did not find time to join Abdul Nabi Khan. Meanwhile Sadatullah Khan had separated from Abdul Nabi Khan. He arrived with 2,000 cavalry and 1,500 infantry at Sira and met me. Before his arrival, affairs had been straightened in regard to Srirangpattam by the grace of God. At the end of the month of Rajab (March 1726) our troops were between Srirangpattam and Bidnur. We were engaged in deciding the affairs of Bidnur. On hearing of my movements the Marathas became frightened. They straightway refused to assist Abdul Gaffar Khan. He had requested to be allowed to join the Marathas. He had recruited 1500 horses. In addition, he had 4,000 to 5,000 infantry sent by jamindars such as Vasudev Naik and the jamindars of Gadwal, Mallareddi and Rachoti. Their troops were a part of Abdul Gaffar Khan's army. He had thus in all, 4,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry. It is said that the Marathas had 10,000 to 12,000 cavalry. They had the desire for considerable sums to cover their expenses. I too had to incur heavy expenditure in maintaining my cavalry and infantry. Tahir Muhammad Khan had no resources. The demands from his troops were heavy, and

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ran into lakhs. He is getting Rs. 2,000 daily from my Government. The jamindars who have brought their armies are also getting sums from me. After my arrival in the Karnatak this heavy expenditure had to be incurred by me. I had to give the amount as follows :

Rs. 3,500 daily to the Marathas of Raja Shahu, Rs. 1,500 daily to Sidhoji, Rs. 2,000 to Tahir Muhammad Khan, and to the jamindars and poligars, Rs. 1,500 every day. In addition, fresh troops had been recruited to the extent of 1,500 horsemen and 5,000 infantry bringing the total to 9,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry. Considering the amount spent on these troops the expenditure on all counts comes to Rs. 9,00,000 per month. Relying on God I moved from Adoni to Sira. While leaving Adoni I was worried how to cope up with the situation. I had only 7,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry with me and I was in the midst of adversaries. Under these circumstances even my march from Adoni to Sira can only be ascribed to the grace of God. The soldiery of Tahir Muhammad Khan, which was clamouring for the arrears of dues tried to carry him to Abdul Nabi Khan. He and his troops ultimately joined me. However his troops were hungry for the payment of heavy and long standing dues. It was not possible to rely entirely on this army. Payment had to be made to them. Similarly the Marathas had arrived in my camp. I could not trust them as well. Similar was the case with Sadatullah Khan. I wrote to Izduddowlah to send 2,000 cavalry under a powerful chief. By God's grace I did not have to require this reinforcement.

Bajirao and Shripatrao saw me on the 29th of Rajab (1138 Hejira, March 23, 1726). Hindurao Ghorpade, his sister (in-law) Sagunabai, whose troops and equipment are greater than those of her brother (in-law) Neela Prabhu, the Chief Minister of Raja Sambhaji, were already in my camp. On seeing them, Shripatrao and Bajirao were confused. Their bewilderment cannot be described. They were full of pride and had aimed at making great demands on me (bring pressure on me). By God's grace wolf (Shripatrao and Bajirao) and lamb (the troops of Sambhaji) lay together. Both these troops were camped on both the sides of my army. They were not favourably inclined towards each other. It was all God's grace.

If only Izduddowlah had joined me, by God's grace, crores of rupees would have been collected. Still, the affairs of Bidnoor were settled according to my desire. I am now returning. On the 8th of Ramzan (30th April 1726) I will give leave of departure to Sadatullah Khan to return to his place as also to Shripatrao, Sultanji and other chiefs of Raja Shahu.

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Probably addressed to Shahu, Probable date 1727.

Prior to my departure from Hyderabad to put the affairs of Karnatak in order, letters had been addressed to Shripatrao, Sultanji Nimbalkar and Bajirao asking them to join me on the way. They did not come. Letters were repeatedly written to them to this effect. I waited for them on the banks of the river Krishna and at Adoni. I sent Anandrao (Sumant) to bring them. Their arrival was delayed beyond measure. In consideration of the friendship that we have for each other and the agreements between us the behaviour which they adopted was against established practice. This was against agreement and friendship. They (Bajirao and others) entered into agreement with Diler Khan and met him. They also wrote letters and tried to seduce Abdul Nabi Khan, Bahadur Khan, and other Zamindars of that region. They conspired to raise commotion on all sides and to disturb my plan. In the meanwhile I learnt from my spies that owing to the instigation of the above chiefs (Marathas) thoughtless and ignorant persons had decided to rebel against me and fight against my army. Fighting was about to start, but the grace of God was with us. Owing to God's kindness the disturbances were put down. Your chiefs (Bajirao and others) co-operated with my opponents. Otherwise I would have destroyed them. It was only out of regard for you who are considerate and are not in favour of such improper acts, that I ignored the manoeuvres of your chiefs. I hope that God would remove the pride and thougtlessness from my adversaries (Afghans and Zamindars) and would keep them away from improper deeds. Finding no other alternative I called Hindurao and other Maratha chiefs.

In the meanwhile the Afghans felt that professions of obedience would be proper. They came to me. Bajirao, Sultanji, Shripatrao and Anandrao too came and met me.

My aim in coming to these parts and calling the Marathas to my side was as follows : The chiefs of this area were under no control. They had great territories under them. I wanted to confiscate their territory, put them down, and realize great benefit. In view of these disturbances however, much of the work was wasted and time was lost unnecessarily. The region of Hyderabad has only recently come into my possession. I am exerting to the utmost to pacify the country and to conciliate the population. In this region I have so much army with me. Still disturbances take place. What might be the conditions in other regions which are at a distance ? They are ruined due to the oppression of the Kamawishdars. The rayats are the foundation of all prosperity. They will have no prospects of welfare. By God's grace you and I are rulers

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of the country. It is our duty to settle the country and be considerate to people who are the creation of God. I have sent trusted officers to you to express my sincere regards for you and stress the need for settling the country. You will learn the details from them. I have sent some presents of cloths, jewels and other articles, according to the list attached. This is due to the firm alliance which I have with you".

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Addressed probably to Sambhaji of Kolhapur, 1726.

Nilu Pandit is an old and trusted servant of yours. The message from me which is conveyed through him will be agreeable to you. You may act accordingly. It is hoped that with unity between us things will turn out as we desired. With your support great results will ensue from this step. This will contribute to the peace and contentment of the populace. It will also be agreeable to God. The imprint of good reputation will prevail in the world. Bonds of friendship will be strengthened. Robes and other articles are being sent separately according to the list attached. Kindly keep me informed of your welfare.

Page 224 (7)

Letter probably to a Pathan Chief in the Karnatak.

From your writings it appeared that the depredations of Bajirao had spread in that region. God willing, this victorious army will rush in all haste in that region to assist you. Accordingly, this army had, with all speed, arrived at Hyderabad on the 15th of the month of Rajab (15th February 1727).

In the meanwhile news reached continuously that Fateh Singh, Kanoji and other chiefs of Raja Shahu and those of Raja Sambhaji and Chandrasen and Jadhavrao and Hindurao and others had gathered at Malkhed. There was very little distance left between the two opposing forces and a battle was imminent. These (the opposing Marathas) were full of tricks and cunning. It was not considered proper to leave them in the rear and march to another region. It was necessary to assist Sambhaji.

With this view we left the ladies of the harem, excess baggage and big guns at Hyderabad, and trusting in God we left Hyderabad on Saturday the 21st of Rajab (4th March 1727). Today is the 22nd of Rajab. I have marched a distance of 12 kos (24 miles). My aim was to move by forced marches. Meanwhile I received the news that Fateh Singh and others heard of the arrival of my army. They became

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distracted and fled away in all confusion. The soldiers of Sambhaji plundered them of their arms and equipment. About 1500 good horses and other arms and equipment beyond count were captured by them. This is an auspicious beginning. I now plan to reach Malkhed soon. I will take the army (of Sambhaji) with me and move in all haste to punish Bajirao. Moving by the way of Mudgal and Gadag I will outflank Bajirao. If you from that side drive Bajirao before you and if that wretch (Bajirao) is hemmed between our two armies and is captured it will be a good fortune of ours ".

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Probable date 1727.

I have received your letters in which you write as follows.

" The army of Islam marched to Kolar. From there it moved to Bangalore. Afterwards as a matter of precaution and manoeuvres it reached Chinnapattan. The wretched enemy has collected his army near Shrirangapattan. Frightened by the presence of our army the enemy lost heart and sent his bag and baggage in another direction. Meanwhile news had spread that Fatehsingh and Kanoji (Bhosle) had been defeated by me. I had decided to assist Sambhaji (of Kolhapur). This too became well known. These steps will dishearten the enemy completely. I have every hope that the enemy will flee away from that region ".

Page 178 (9)

Probable date 1727.

I have received the Firman to the following effect. The Marathas were spread in the province of Malwa. Najimuddin Ahmad Khan has been deputed to assist Raja Giridhar Bahadur to put down the Marathas. Orders have been issued to the Governor of Gujarat and Malwa to take their posts on the banks of Narmada with their contingents and be ready to join me when required, and co-operated with me in imperial matters. My work in fighting against the Marathas has been appreciated. The issue of these orders is due to the kindness of His Majesty. I am extremely thankful for the same.

Previously I had written to Shahu to prevent the Marathas from crossing the river Narmada. He did not listen to my warnings. This is due to his pride and ignorance. He is responsible for many improper deeds. His followers too have behaved in an improper manner. In spite of my prohibition the Maratha armies have crossed the river Narmada and spread in the province of Malwa. Obedience to His Majesty is my duty. I rely on God and His Majesty's kindness. I am exerting

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myself in putting down the Kafirs. During the last few years their numbers have grown considerably. Still I hope that affairs would be settled according to our desire. Sambhaji (of Kolhapur) is a rival of Shahu. I have given him all inducements and made him hopeful of His Majesty's favours. I have called him to my side. He has prominent chiefs, like Hindurao as his colleagues. I have hopes that the colleagues of Shahu too would leave him and join me and the rest of his army would scatter. I have made Sambhaji take the oath that he would never swerve from obedience to your Majesty. I am shortly submitting a petition in his case to your Majesty.

Rajadhiraj (Sawai Jai Singh) had informed that the Marathas had spread in the province of Malwa. A request had been made that an army of 40,000 would be required to be posted in Malwa to put down the Marathas. It is known to everybody that in the previous regime considerable armies led by famous generals and consisting of Mansabdars, Jagirdars, strong artillery and all the required military equipment were utilized in the campaign in the Deccan. Considerable treasury too was spent. At present the Governors of Gujarat and Malwa have received considerable sums of money to put down the Marathas. Now that the Rajadhiraj has been appointed (to Malwa) he must have received not less than one crore rupees. This is in addition to the troops posted in the province. It may be imagined how much money has been spent so far and how much is being spent today. Under these circumstances I have undertaken this campaign solely out of my sense of duty. My income is limited. The expenditure is heavy. Where I could realize ten previously I can realize only one. I would request your majesty to grant 50 lakhs of rupees. Until such time as the amount is not received by me the Mahals of the province of Gujarat and Malwa may be granted to me. I am making this request only for support in this holy war. I hope my request will be granted.

Page 169 (10)

Probable date 1727.

You have informed me that Firmans and orders, instructing the Governors of Malwa and Ahmedabad to send their deputies with their contingents to me, will be sent as soon as they are ready. You have asked me to inform you as soon as the orders are received by me. I am obliged to you for your letter. I shall inform you as soon as I get the Firman. The Amir ul Umara has written a letter. A reply to it will be sent. Kokaji (the emperor's foster brother) has requested for Jagirs for his brother. Whatever he has desired will, God willing, be given effect to. The details will be narrated to you by Bakhtmand Khan.

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I am in receipt of the letter and Firman. My efforts in the direction of putting down the Kafirs (Marathas) and replacing Shahu by Sambhaji have been appreciated in the letter. I have been bestowed robes of honour and four items of jewels. My son Mir Ahmad Khan Bahadur (later Nasir Jung) has been honoured with a title, a palanquin, robes of honour and two items of jewellery. I am thankful for these kindnesses. I am submitting a petition in reply to the Firman. I hope it will be perused. The income from the provinces is limited while the expenditure is heavy. I had asked that the income from the provinces of Ahmedabad and Malwa be spent towards meeting the cost of the jihad (Holy war against the Marathas). The Khan had written to me to put in exertion in this war. My request for the income of the above provinces was due to my anxiety to cope with the war. There was no other alternative. The income is small and the cost of meeting the salary of the army is very great. The expenditure has now gone up ten times. In the previous regime of Hazarat Khuld Makan the income was great. Still a considerable amount of treasure was spent in the campaigns in this part. At present in other campaigns which are comparatively easy, the noblemen are in a position to spend considerable amont of money. They are not willing to undertake the campaigns unless money is forth-coming. On the other hand I have undertaken the campaign without making any such request. It was the practice of Hazarat Khuld Makan, (emperor Aurangzeb), wherever generals undertook campaign without asking for resources, to supply them with more than they needed. I consider your Majesty in place of Hazarat Khuld Makan and have the same hope from your Majesty ".

Page 91 (12)

Nizam-ul-Mulk to the emperor.

The heads of Shahu and his followers were turned. They began to do improper deeds. This is known to the whole world. I had warned Shahu that his followers should not cross the river Narmada and spread in the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat. This warning had no effect. People represented to your Majesty suspecting me to have instigated the Marathas to cross the river. I had limited resources. This may be contrasted with the great resources available during the time of Khuld Makan (Aurangzeb). Still in accordance with your Majesty's desire expressed through the Firmans, I, relying on God, marched against the Marathas. The Marathas were led by Fateh Singh the son of Shahu, Sultanji and Kanhoji (Bhosle). They were proud of their army which numbered 20,000 cavalry. I left my heavy baggage in Owsa and marching a distance of 29 Kos. I reached Kalam the next

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day. Leaving further baggage at Kalam I left Kalam with light cavalry in the afternoon. I marched the whole night and reached the Kankaria tank the next morning. After offering my morning prayers I moved forward. I sent forward Jadhavrao and Hindurao Ghorpade, colleagues of Sambhaji, other Maratha Chiefs and my own Maratha followers. I instructed them to throw the ranks of the enemy into confusion. I advanced to reinforce my troops. The enemy was frightened, and fled. Their advance guard which was deputed to collect provision was attacked by us and defeated. We were victorious. We pursued them to a distance of thirty seven Kos. We had marched all night and day. Our elephants and horses had no strengtb to move. The enemy escaped, but in great distress. Before pursuing them we received reports that there was no provision and water available on the road to Satara. It is hoped that by God's grace the enemy will perish for want of food and water. May the sun of empire shine in full splendour.

Page 182 (13)

Date 1727.

Shahu and his followers were full of pride and evil designs. This expressed itself in mean actions. This is as clear as day light. Fateh Singh is the adopted son of that ill fated one (Shahu). Sultanji Nimbalkar is the Sarlashkar of that thoughtless tribe. Kanhoji Bhosle is like a fire in devilishness and strife. They are proud of their army, of nearly 20,000 cavalry. Some say that the army is more numerous than that. This army was concentrated in the vicinity of Parenda and Bhum. Their presence resulted in commotion and distress. They established their posts in many small but strong forts. They extended their hand of opression on the talukas of the district.

In the meanwhile, relying on the grace of God and the good fortune of the emperor I decided to put down the wretched force of the enemy. I left the heavy baggage in the fort of Ausa. Relying on God I marched to put down those wretches. On the evening of Friday the 16th of Ramzan (27th April 1727) I left Ausa and marching three stages, established my camp. Next day I traversed a distance of 12 Kos. On the 3rd day I traversed 14 Kos. I reached the town of Kalam in the afternoon. I left some more baggage at that place. The same day I marched from that place to put down the wretched enemy. I marched the whole night. Next morning I reached the Kankria tank which is at the foot of the hills. I offered my morning prayers and marching forward I reached Mankar (Mangad or Manegaon ?). My officers, Jadhavrao, Hindurao, Rao Rambhaji, Mansingh Hakia and other chiefs with their Maratha troops had been posted there. They had been assigned the duty of attacking the enemy and throwing them into confusion. I too

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marched forward. As soon as my movements were known, the enemy scattered and fled. A part of the enemy's army which was operating for the collection of provision fell into the clutches of the troops of Chandrasen, Hindurao and others. By God's grace victory fell to the standard of the army of Islam. We have traversed about 37 Kos of distance within one night and day to fall upon the enemy. The air was hot. The elephants and the horses were exhausted. The enemy were able to escape from death. They however suffered great distress and humiliation. If we had not been tired, the enemy would have surely fallen victim to our merciless force. I had thought of pursuing the enemy. The spies brought to me the news that very little water or fodder was available on the route leading Satara. Finding no other alternative I camped on the banks of a stream. The enemy had fled to a region where fodder and food are not available.

It is hoped that by the grace of God the enemy should be destroyed, due to lack of provision, and the world will be cleared of the wretches.

Page 226 (14)

Nizam-ul-Mulk to Shahu, probable date 1727.

"Your letter gave me great pleasure. Last year Bajirao had met me in the Karnatak. The behaviour which he exhibited was ignored by me at that time only out of my regard for you. Bajirao could not appreciate the consideration which I showed to him. Nilo Pandit had informed you that it was not proper for Bajirao to move towards Karnatak. This had been agreed to by you. Accordingly Nilo Pandit and Anand Rao both came to me and conveyed your agreement to the above.

This year Bajirao has gone to the Karnatak and has extended his hand of oppression in that tributepaying region. The Zamindars of the Karnatak had agreed to pay peshcush to me and had been favoured by me. Bajirao has harassed them. The cries of the oppressed are reaching the heavens. Bajirao has devastated towns and villages and has collected considerable sums from them. Bajirao has gone to Karnatak without permission. Izduddowlah had, on his return from Jhalwah, gone to Devgad and had received the peshcush (tribute). It was decided that Bajirao would not move beyond Panhalgad. Now Bajirao has behaved in an unrestrained manner and has gone (to Karnatak). He has not paid heed to your words. He has also behaved against my desire. He has turned a rebel against you for a long time. Izduddawlah Bahadur had written to you in this connection. In accordance with the orders of His Majesty the Marathas were not

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to cross the river Narmada and interfere with the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat. They were not to spread devastation in that region. But these instructions have had no effect. In the meantime Kanhoji (Bhosle) had aimed at crossing the river Narmada. Izduddowlah Bahadur forbade him from crossing the river. But Kanhoji did not listen. Finding no other alternative, Izduddowlah appointed his son Sayyed Jamil Khan to put down Kanhoji. In the end Kanhoji fled and took refuge with Fateh Singh and Chimnaji. This was against the agreement.

It had been decided that Reja Jadhav should not go towards Sangamner and Gangapur. He went there last year. He has gone this year too. He has been collecting the Rahadari (road tax) and other prohibited dues not provided for in the agreement. He has been the cause of great harassment to the travellers and the merchants. The Marathas have also spread in the environs of Aurangabad.

In the beginning of peace it had been agreed to that 15,000 cavalry were to be stationed by you (at Aurangabad). At present not a single horseman is present here. When the Marathas appear, the troubles they raise and the provocations they give, cannot be described. The Peshcush dues which you had promised when the Sanads (grants) for Sardeshmukhi and your old kingdom were granted to you now amount to Rs. 1,67,19,000. We are never paid these dues. There has been nothing but a departure from agreement from you. Out of the regard in which I hold you I have sincerely and in accordance with the principles of Islam freely and frankly written to you.

Page 34 (15)

Letter on Palkhed-campaign.

Addressed to the Emperor (December 1727).

"Obedience to your majesty. The Kafirs (Marathas), with a desire to raise commotion came from their homes, and after Dassara (October-November 1727) spread in all directions. A considerable number from among them appeared before Burhanpur. I moved from my camp to punish them. Izduddowlah fought against Bajirao in the environs of Jalna. God be praised. By the Good fortune of the emperor the battle ended successfully. A considerable number of the enemy were killed or wounded. On our side some attained martyrdom or were wounded. Rao Rambhaji (Nimbalkar) fought gallantly. His eldest son died in the battle. Others too fought gallantly. Bajirao fled before Izduddowlah and moved towards Burhanpur. The son of Dabhade (Trembakrao) had already arrived at Burhanpur. Bajirao joined him. I too hurried towards Burhanpur. The Marathas wanted to cross the

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river Narmada. They marched away hurriedly from Burhanpur. I did not allow them time to cross the Narmada. At last, after great trouble, they appeared on the Kasarighat. Having crossed the ghat, Dabhade went towards Sangamner and Bajirao moved towards Mungi Paithan. I appointed Izduddowlah to pursue Bajirao. In the meanwhile Sayyed Laskhar Khan, Himmat Yar Khan, Rao Rambhaji and other chiefs pursued Dabhade (Trembakrao). They attacked successfully. Some of the chiefs were killed. Horses were captured and the Kafirs (Marathas) were taught a good lesson. I am now returning to my place. I am appointing armies to pursue the Marathas. By God's grace Sayyed Jamal Khan the son of Izduddowlah has attacked the wretch Kanhoji (Bhosle) in Berar. A great battle took place on the 27th of Rabiussani (30th November 1727). By God's grace we won a great victory. The enemy was pursued to a distance of 3 Kos. Many were killed and many were injured. As it grew dark soon after, our soldiers had to return. News has been received that Kanhoji (Bhosle) has, in great distress, joined Bajirao. Possibly Sayyed Jamal Khan Bahadur has also joined Izduddowlah. They will then, by the grace of God and the fortune of the emperor, work together to put down Bajirao and Kanhoji.

As your Majesty knows, the task, of conquering Deccan and putting down the Marathas, during the reign of Hazarat-Khuld-Makan proved a long affair. Years passed in this campaign. Numerous armies had to be employed. Huge amounts of money were spent on this campaign. Now I have undertaken this hazardous campaign with insufficient resources. It is only to act in accordance with your Majesty's desire. My evilwishers are spreading rumours, that I am having other designs. This is in spite of my engaging myself in this difficult campaign under the orders of your Majesty. I do not know what to say. It is only out of my sense of loyalty to your Majesty that I am engaged in this work. My honour is entirely dependent on your Majesty's grace. I am hopeful of your kindness and support. What more can I say. May the sun of the empire and your Majesty shine on us for ever.

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Nizam-ul-Mulk on the Palkhed campaign.
Date 1728.

From the camp of the army marching to punish the wretches (Marathas).

" After the death of Hazrat Khuld Makan (emperor Aurangzeb) fate had willed that affairs should become complicated. The pride and arrogance of the wretches began to increase beyond measure. They have

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not received shattering blows from the army of Islam. This was especially due to the agreement which gave them a foot–hold. They have provoked disturbances in the whole country. For a long time they have behaved in an unbridled manner. Before any attack could be made on their territories the Marathas moved towards Aurangabad. Bajirao, Sidhoji Nimbalkar, Pilaji Jadhav and other chiefs spread in the region of Aurangabad. Khandoji Dabhade, Kanthaji Bande, Dawalji Somawamshi and other prominent chiefs spread in the region of Khandesh. They extended their hand of oppression on the people of that territory. Bajirao and others, proud of their army, reached the environs of Jalna. Izduddowlah Bahadur, by God's grace, moved from Aurangabad. The Marathas fought against him. They fought with great determination and bravery. They raised great commotion. But every time they attacked our army, many of them were killed by our artillery. Due to God's grace, Bajirao, in spite of his huge army, could not make a stand. With an evil design in his mind he allied himself with Khandoji Dabhade and fled towards Burhanpur. I did not desire to give any time to the Marathas to enable them to come together. I relied on God and marched forward. Bajirao, Khandoji Dabhade, and other chiefs joined hands. In great distress they fled towards the Narmada river. The armies of Islam were reaching that place. The Marathas, again in great distress, fled across the territory of Mohan Singh. They fled through the hilly region. This region had been devastated. No food was available in that area. By God's grace the time was near when they would be destroyed or captured and people would be delivered from their oppression. Our army returned and moved towards Sultanpur and Nandurbar to intercept the Marathas. They then emerged from the Kasarighat and scattered in different directions. Khandoji Dabhade fled towards Sangamner and Bajirao went towards Bhir and Shahagad. Izduddawlah was appointed to pursue Bajirao. Trimbakrao the son of Khandoji Dabhade boldly moved into the district of Baijapur above the Kasarighat. I had posted an army under veterans to deal with him. The army moved against the Marathas and killed a number of them. They pursued the Marathas for a distance of a few kos and captured a number of horses. The fighting lasted till the evening. They escaped because it became dark soon after. By God's grace the army of Islam has won and the army of the Marathas has fled away. I reached Aurangabad on the 29th of Rabiussani. (2nd December 1727). I am determined to destroy, and, by God's grace, to raze to the ground, the homeland of the Marathas. I have every hope that by the kindness of God the Marathas will be reduced to helplessness ".

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Page 154 (17)

Probably addressed to Aiwaz Khan. 1728.

" I left an army with you. You must keep it ready for whatever action is required. The Thanedars are at their posts round about Aurangabad. It will not be proper to disturb them. It became necessary to send Abdul Aziz Khan Bahadur towards Junnar to establish order in that region. To protect the city (Aurangabad) and the surrounding Parganas, you may appoint any one from amongst Muqarrab Khan, Khane Alam, Shaikh Ali Khan and Muthawar Khan. It is understood that Muqarrab Khan and Khane Alam have decided not to separate from each other. They should not be separated from you. Shaikh Ali Khan is a useful soldier. In the battle which he had to fight alone his qualities were proved to the full. He gave good proofs of chieftainship. If he is appointed it will be a good thing. Previously he was not in your army. He had separated himself from the army of Sayed Jamal Khan. Parwarish Khan was with me. I am sending a part of his army which is left over here to you. All these contingents will be with you, so that you could utilize them whenever required. The army which has been given to Abdulaziz Khan Bahadur and the Thanedars of the surrounding area is being sent to you. We will appoint some one to maintain order in that area. Taking into consideration the cavalry and infantry, see that Parwarish Khan a trusted officer is appointed to check up the personnel of the army. "

Page 53 (18)

Nizam-ul-Mulk to the emperor, Probable date 1727.

In accordance with your Majesty's desire I am trying to put down the wretched Kafirs (Marathas). Day and night I am serving your Majesty whole-heartedly. With God's grace and your kindness I have every hope that the affair in hand will be set right. You are issuing orders to the Governors of Malwa and Gujarat to send their deputies with their contingents to me. I had entered into an agreement with Sambhaji. I had expressed and avowed your kindness to and consideration for Sambhaji (Kolhapur) in accordance with my terms of agreement, to enable me to achieve my aims successfully. This would be the best way in which you should favour your servants. I have written to Roshanuddowalah that as soon as the Firmans and orders addressed to the Governors of Malwa and Gujarat are got ready they should be sent to me. I hope, by God's grace, they will reach me in time. You have informed me that a reply had been sent on the representation made by Roshanuddowlah. I am supplicant of your Majesty's favour. May the sun of the empire shine brightly.

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Nazam-ul-Mulk to the emperor. Probable date 1727.

I have received your Majesty's Firman. The Marathas have spread into Malwa. Raja Giridhar Bahadur had applied to you for reinforcements. You had appointed Najmuddin Muhammad Khan to put down the Marathas. You have issued instructions to the Governors of Malwa and Gujarat that their deputies should, with their contingents, take their posts on the banks of the Narmada, be vigilant, be at my (Nizam-ul-Mulk) beck and call and put in their best exertions to put down the Marathas. I have received your Majesty's Firman to the above effect. Roshanuddowlah Bahadur too has written to me in detail. In accordance with your Majesty's order I have again written to Shahu warning him against letting the Marathas cross the river Narmada.

The Marathas have, during the recent years, spread disturbances throughout the country. Not caring for them, and, with a desire of acting in accordance with your Majesty's wishes and discharging my duties as a servant, I have been exerting to put down the Marathas. God willing, my exertions will be crowned with success. I have called Sambhaji, the rival of Shahu, to my side. Two or three of the Maratha chiefs such as Jadhav Rao and Ghorpade have joined me. I have every hope that the other chiefs of Shahu would desert him and come over to my side. The remaining troops of Shahu will be scattered, and affairs will be settled in accordance with your Majesty's desire. Your Majesty has been very graceful in ordering the Governors of Gujarat and Malwa to co-operate with me. Your grace has become apparent to the whole world. In the previous years, numerous armies, renowned generals and mansabdars, countless artillery and other equipment and the treasure of India were spent on the warfare in the Deccan. My resources are limited. Your Majesty's grace has results in my being favoured.

I have written the details to Roshanuddowlah. Your Majesty will recieve that letter. May the Sun of the empire shine in all splendour.

Page 191 (20)

Probable date, 1728-29.

The account of the capture of the fort of Wakin-Kheda will be known to you from the detailed letter sent herewith. Similarly the strong fort of Sagar has also been captured. The fort of Devadurg was in the possession of Pam Naik since a long time. The fort is strong. The great river Krishna surrounds the fort. It appeared impossible to

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capture it. By God's grace the fort was conquered. Abdul Nabi Khan (of Kadapa) is a prominent chief. He is loyal and faithful. He came to see me along with his sons and troops. Abdul Satar Khan the son of the late Diler Khan has a strong force with him. Bahadur Khan, the son of Bahadur Khan, the latter the nephew of the late Dawood Khan, came to see me. Shripatrao, the noted chief and a trusted minister of Raja Shahu accompanied by his troops came to see me. On behalf of Raja Shahu he confirmed a pact of friendship and expressed his loyalty to the terms of the agreement. Shripatrao himself is active in obedience to me and in exerting in my cause. From his behaviour I am convinced of the sincerity of Raja Shahu. Now that by God's grace the chiefs have come to me and a strong army has assembled. I am thankful to God for these favours.

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Whatever I had written previously was solely for the sake of the honour of Islam and out of a sense of loyalty to your Majesty. The improprieties of the situation have made me sad beyond imagination. If only the words I had written are placed before your Majesty and steps are taken to reform the administration and put down evildoers, it will be only right and proper. Due to the lack of unity among the Muslims, disturbances are increasing in the empire day by day. Witnessing these things one becomes griefstricken. May God protect us. May He help the Muslims to destroy the evildoers. May disunity of the Muslims disappear, so that disturbance will cease and peace will be restored. May the Muslims have peace as they are the servants of God. The disturbances of the Marathas have reached great proportions. They have spread to the province of Agra. In spite of great armies being posted against them they loot and plunder. No steps are taken to put them down.

The pride of the Marathas has increased. Their agressions and impudent thoughts have grown from one to one thousand.

Page 144 (22)

Probable date 1728 – addressee not known–

" Previously our army had gone to set the affairs of Karnatak in order. By God's grace the affairs of that region were set right as desired. Perfect order was established there. The army then returned victoriously to Hyderabad.

In the meanwhile it became necessary to establish order in the districts of Yalgandal and Ramgir. These two forts and the surrounding regions were seats of disturbances. The forts and the rigion were captured. By God's grace order will soon be established in that region ".

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Capture of the fort of Manikdurg,
Probable date 1728.

The fort of Manikdurg belongs to the region of Chanda. It is so strong that it is not possible to imagine its capture, without the grace of God. The fort is surrounded by ravines and towering hills. Such a strong fort is rarely seen. It is not possible to establish defences against the fort nor can one think of capturing it. God be praised. Due to His grace, without a fight, our army came into possession of this fort. In lieu of tribute we took a number of Parganas from the Raja of Chanda. The remaining Parganas were left to him. Please do not disturb the Raja as I have to be considerate towards him in this condition.

Page 137 (24)

The news of the victory won by Abu Mansur Khan Bahadur has given me great pleasure. May God remove all disturbances from that region. During the last one year I was engaged in heavy campaign. My army put in great exertions. Huge expenditure was incurred during this campaign. I had reported previouly that in accordance with his Majesty's orders I am exerting myself in this hazardous campaign. During the time of Hazarat Khuld Makan the treasuries of Bengal were spent in the Deccan campaign. Princes and noblemen with artillery and great military equipment were employed in this campaign. Great battles were fought. At the time of the emperor's death, this region was occupied by the enemy. The people were ruined. Income had dwindled. No aid has been forthcoming either in the shape of men or money. The Maratha mode of warfare does not allow for a decision to be achieved in one battle. The Marathas scatter before a defeat is inflicted upon them. Soon after, they gather again. To put them down, considerable troops are required in all the districts. This cannot be achieved without abundant treasure. In view of this, agreement had to be entered into with the Marathas. By God's grace the Marathas have been strongly punished and have come to terms. It is hoped that they will stick firmly to the agreement. They have taken strong oaths according to their religion. Gujarat and Malwa have gone out of our hands and have been devastated. In the Deccan conditions are similar. It would be proper to uproot the Kafirs. If the Governors of Gujarat and Malwa unite together they can, by God's grace, put down the Marathas. What more can one write. Whatever has been written has been done solely in the interest of the empire.

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Page 151 (25)

July 1728.

The fort situated in the village Sirpol, (Sirpur ?) of that Pargana was in the Jagir of Muhammad Yar Khan. It was situated in a thick jungle. There was a Rajput by name Ranajit who was of evil mind. He was proud and arrogant. He took possession of that place on the night of Thursday, the 14th of the month of Zilaad (probable date 11th of July 1728). I sent my army against him. It was led by Giyas Khan, Mir Khan, and Saifuddin Ali, the daroga (captain) of the artillery. I too followed to assist them. The place was situated in difficult and inaccessible jungle. It was a hand to hand fight. From one side of our army Inayat Khan accompanied by his Jamedars lad the troops. From another side Saifuddin Ali the captain of the artillery accompanied by his Jamedars led the attack. From the third side Mir Hifzulla, along with his chiefs, marched forward.

From yet another side, Anwar Khan, from another side Bankror Khan, Rahmat Khan, Khwaja Abdul Khaliq, Khudayar Khan, and Saduddin Khan and others accompaning me, marched into the battle. The battle lasted from morning till afternoon. The horsemen dismounted in the jungle and fought gallantly with the Kafirs. Many of the infidels were killd. Some from our army drank the cup of martyrdom. Many were killed and wounded. By God's grace victory was won by us ".

Page 110 (26)

Nizam-ul-Mulk's report to the emperor on the capture of Wakinkheda. Probable date 1729 A. D.

"During the time of Hazarat Khuld Makan (Aurangzeb), Ruhulla Khan, the Mir Bakhshi, Bahadur Khan, alias Ranmast Khan and other noblemen had been deputed to capture the fort of Wakinkheda. As fate would have it, Ranmast Khan, Qadirdil Khan, Muftakhar Khan, Khwaja Niamatullah Khan, Matabar Khan and others were killed in the attack and the siege could not progress.

After this the prince Kambaksh, Jumlatulmulk Asad Khan and Baharamand Khan were sent by the emperor. The prince Azam was also appointed to the task and consultations were held on how best to capture the fort. At that time the whole of the Deccan had come under the occupation of the emperor. The officers and chiefs of the empire were fully alert. They had spread the armies of Islam in every corner. No one had the courage to raise his head. Pid Naik was the master of the fort, In spite of all available resources, the fort could not be captured. At last the emperor himself led a strong army against the fort.

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The noblemen fought gallantly. After a great deal of effort the fort was captured. The story of the conquest might have been related to you by eyewitnesses of the siege.

After the death of the emperor, disturbances broke out in this region. The rebels seized many forts. Pamnaik took possession of the fort Wakinkheda and also seized the surrounding territory. He collected artillery and other military euqipment and during the last 25 years strengthened the fort. He became very proud. By God's grace the armies of Islam approached the fort. Pamnaik was deeply impressed. He found no other way but to appear in person and to surrender the fort which was taken possession of by our army. In the mosque constructed by the emperor in the fort prayers of thanks were offered to God".

Page 234 (27)

Addressee not known.

I had started from Hyderabad towards Gulburga, when I heard that the rebels had raised great disturbances. Relying on God, I marched towards Elgandal and punished the rebels and their supporters. I crossed the river Godavari near Ramgir and reached the fort of Kawal. The fort which was a strong one was captured. Similarly the forts of Venkatrao Peth, Dharmarao Peth and three other forts were captured. In the meanwhile the fort of Antur belonging to the region of Chanda was captured by us. By God's grace the Azan (the Muslims call to prayers) went up in this fort. Today is the first of Jamadilawal. From our camp Chanda is at a distance of 32 Kos. God willing the whole region of Chanda will be occupied by us. The real owners of this region had disappeared and wretches had usurped it. The region is wide and wonderful. But due to disturbances it is lying desolute. God willing it will be prosperous soon. From Antur, Hyderabad is, by way of Elgandal, at a distance of 90 Kos. Ramgir is at a distance of 70 Kos from Hyderabad. And Chanda is at a distance of 60 Kos from Ramgir. Venkatrao Peth is now named as Rasul Peth and Kawali named as Rasulabad. We captured heavy guns from Kawal and Antur. Considerable quantities of ammunition and other provision fell into our hands. Adjacent to the territory of Chanda is the territory of Devgad. Sayeedudowlah may be instructed to realise tributes from this area.

Page 97 (28)

Nizam-ul-Mulk to the emperor. Probable date 1729.

I returned from Devgad to Hyderabad to punish the enemy in accordance with your Majesty's desire. By God's grace the rebels were punished and have taken refuge in thick and impassable jungles and hills situated at the extremity of the province. They were waiting for

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an opportunity to create fresh disturbances. To put them down my Bakhshi Sayyed Laskhar Khan has appointed his officers. This has cost heavily in expenditure. I hope that by God's grace the rebels would be put down and public welfare secured. May the Sun of the empire shine on the heads of we servants in full splendour.

Page 113 (29)

Nzam-ul-mulk's report on the capture of the fort of Alur, 1730 A. D.

"The fort of Alur is situated in the hills. It is in a valley, which is 25 kos wide. It is difficult of approach. It is also not possible to lay siege to it. It is situated on the boundaries of Bijapur, Hyderabad, Gulbarga, Raichur, and Yadgir. The rebels who had seized the fort were creating disturbances everywhere and were oppressing the people. When Hazarat Khuld Makan heard of this he duputed my father to capture the fort. The emperor himself camped at Gulbarga which was at a distance of 20 Kos from Alur. From there he sent me, Aitmadadowlah Muhamad Āmin Khan, Sayyad Niyaz Khan, Rustum Khan and others with military equipment and 12 cannons to our army there besieging the fort. The siege was prolonged and it was only after great effort that the fort was captured. After the death of emperor the rebels seized the fort again and strengthened it.

Although the rainy season was near, I, trusting in God, arrived before the fort on Thursday the 14th of Zilkad (21st May 1730). The Kafirs could not make a stand. They begged for the safety of their lives. It was only by God's grace and the emperor's kindness that such a fort was captured.

Previously I had requested for proper arrangements to be made for the custody of Rahamatbaksh Kheda (Wakinkheda). 500 cavalry and 4,000 infantry are required to be posted as garrison in that fort. For the fort of Alur 200 cavalry and 3,000 infantry are required. I request that a grant sanctioning the garrison may be despatched soon. Without such a strong garrison the holding of these forts is very difficult.

Page 199 (30)

Addressed probably to the emperor, 1730 A. D.

I am in receipt of your instructions. I am deeply obliged for the same. The disturbances created by the Marathas, with the result that you have suffered distress of mind, have been expressed in your letter. In reality the agressions of the Marathas have exceeded all bounds. They have spread fast throughout the empire. It was to meet the danger that previously I had urged again and again for adopting

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suitable measures. This was actuated with the sole desire of upholding the prestige of Islam, and was an expression of loyalty. God is witness. Opportunities to put down the Marathas did not recur. The condition of the Deccan, its insufficient income and heavy expenditure are not hidden from you. To meet the heavy expenditure is very difficult. I had made requests previously (for help in resources). If my request had been agreed to, affairs would not have been reduced to this state. The provinces of Northern India would have remained safe. The Maharajadhiraja has entered into an agreement with the Marathas and has given them considerable sums of money. This was not a proper step to be taken. Having realized sums of money from a chief like Maharajadhiraj (Savai Jaisingh, the ruler of Jaipur and Governor of Malwa) the arrogance of the Marathas has increased considerably. They have become so proud that their arrogance cannot be described in words. May God be kind to us. May He do what is required to put down the Kafirs (Marathas).

Page 163 (31)

Probable date 1731.

"It was in the fitness of things that orders have been issued to the Governors of Malwa and Gujarat to co-operate with me in putting down the enemy (Marathas). By God's grace our efforts in this holy war will be crowned with success. If only Maharaja Abhai Singh had not given shelter to, and co-operated with Bajirao, the latter would have been, by this time, ruined and captured. If the Maharaja does not carry out the orders of the emperor the result would be that, far from putting down the Marathas, the Maharaja himself would have to have his province suffer in distress at the hands of Bajirao. Alas! a thousand times alas! What an opportunity we had and how it is slipping away from our hands! The rainy season is only two months away. A detailed account might have been known to you from my previous letters". (The letter possibly refers to the meeting which Bajirao had with Maharaja Abhai Singh at Ahmedabad in February 1731 prior to the battle of Dabhai).

Page 187 (32)

Probably addressed to Abhaisingh, Maharaja of Jodhpur and Governor of Gujarat, probable date, April 1731.

"Whatever I have written about Bajirao to you was solely in consideration of public welfare, execution of the affairs of the empire and the need to preserve unity of purpose amongst us. Now since you have separated your army from alliance with Bajirao I am happy to see that my advice has proved correct. Our old friendship has been

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strengthened. This has given me full satisfaction. While I was marching towards this region Bajirao had not yet met you. I had every opportunity to put him down. If I had been inclined to defeat and destroy him, my chiefs Udaji and others were ready to join me in this campaign. I would then have succeeded in killing or capturing Bajirao. It was only out of regard for you that I stopped on the banks of the river Narmada. I did not cross the river nor did I march against Bajirao. It was my desire that you should separate yourself from the army of Bajirao. I am glad that this has happened.

Bajirao has performed exploits. Owing to these, his head is full of pride and arrogance. Since you have separated from him he might be harbouring evil designs in his mind against you. If you feel that Bajirao is aiming at creatiug disturbances in your territory you may inform me immediately. By God's grace I will march swiftly. We can, then, put him down. If Bajirao has fled from that territory inform me of the same. He should not be enabled to create disturbances after the rain. Whatever plans you might be having to deal with him, inform me of the same. Prevention is better than cure".

Page 194 (33)

Probable date 1733.

Siddi Yaqub Khan was appointed the Governor of Danda Rajpuri and other places. His son was killed. As a result disturbances broke out. The following were the forts in that region. Suras gadh, Awchit gadh, Birwadi, Mankot, Ghosala, Malpan, Madangadh, Karwah, Mank and Rajkot. There were the forts of the empire. There were some other forts too. The Marathas seduced the Habshis. They seized the opportunity and took possession of the forts. The fort of Raheri (Raigad) known as Islamgad is one of the strong forts. It is the capital of Konkan. It was in the possession of Raja Shahu's ancestors. During the time of Hazrat Khuld Makan (emperor Aurangzeb) it had been captured after a great struggle. The Marathas seduced the garrison with inducement of money and captured it (5th June 1733). During the rains any military movements are not possible in Konkan. Still I decided to send reinforcements from my district to control the disturbances in that area. Abdul Aziz Khan Bahadur is the Fauzdar of the territory adjacent to the disturbed area. I wrote to him to send as much infantry as possible to assist the custodian of the fort of Raigad. Before reinforcements had arrived, the fort had been captured by the Marathas. The failure of our campaign and the occurrences of such disturbances in the regions of North and the Deccan and the cities of Islam cannot be viewed with equanimity. Considering the disunity,

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and selfishness prevailing, I am convinced of one fact. If conditions continue as before and the Marathas are not punished, their aggressions and the devastation of the territory will increase day by day.

They will spread to other provinces of northern India. It will be very difficult to put down the Marathas. Nobody will be able to contend against them. It was only to maintain the prestige of Islam and as a faithful servant and well-wisher of the empire that I had written with great clarity and insistence. My advice did not have any effect. During the time of Khuld Makan, the expenses of the forts and their garrisons in the Deccan used to be met from the port of Surat. It is an established rule that affairs of each province are left to the discretion of the Governor thereof. He is in a position to look after the welfare of that area. He is appointed to put down the rebels. The advisers of the emperor do not hesitate to set aside this rule. They send grants and orders of appointment without reference to me. One example of departure from these rules is that this order of appointment to the custody of the fort of Raheri was sent to Yaqub Khan without any reference being made to me and without consulting me. The expenditure of these forts was met from the receipts from the port of Surat. The result of such action and lack of co-operation has been that the Marathas have seized forts belonging to the empire. They have devastated the region and occupied it. Considerable artillery has fallen into their hands. Their pride has increased. In spite of all that has happened the Habshis did not approach me. They were against me. Still I felt for the prestige of Islam and my faithful service to the empire. This area has little revenue. The aggressions of the Marathas are increasing day by day. They are extending to northern India. They have penetrated to the important provinces of the empire. There is not much distance between Akbarabad (Agra) and Shahajahanabad (Delhi). In spite of this, people have become very heedless. They do not understand the disaster which is in front of them. After all what is going to happen in future? The Marathas are not put down. God is the master of fate. It is impossible for one to know the will of God. One feels perplexed and helpless".

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